

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 3426

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR GR CY  
SUBJ: GREEK REACTION TO VIENNA INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS

REF: STATE 83722

1. DURING A DISCUSSION ON APRIL 15 WITH AN EMBOFF, GREEK MFA  
CYPRUS DESK OFFICER (JOHN BOURLOYANNIS) REFLECTED THE GENERAL  
PESSIMISM WHICH THE GREEKS HAVE SHOWN CONCERNING THE OUTCOME  
OF THE RECENT VIENNA INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS ON CYPRUS. HE  
CLAIMED, ACCORDING TO UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE  
DE CUELLAR (WITH WHOM BOURLOYANNIS HAD SPENT SOME TIME IN  
ATHENS APRIL 14) THAT TURKISH CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR ONAN  
HAD INDICATED THAT HE HAD GONE TO THE VIENNA MEETINGS  
WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO NEGOTIATE NOTHING; AND THAT, STATED  
BOURLOYANNIS, IS EXACTLY WHAT OCCURRED. AS FAR AS THE  
GOG IS CONCERNED, BOURLOYANNIS CONTINUED, VIENNA WAS  
EVEN WORSE THAN HAD BEEN EXPECTED, BASED ON THE PREVIOUS  
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COMMITMENTS WHICH THE TURKS AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD  
GIVEN BOTH TO CLIFFORD AND TO WALDHEIM. INSTEAD OF GOOD  
WILL AND A DISPOSITION TO ENGAGE IN SUBSTANTIVE EXCHANGES,  
HE CHARGED, THE TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE SIMPLY RELIED ON  
REITERATING NEGATIVE RESPONSES.

2. BOURLOYANNIS ASKED ABOUT THE USG REACTION TO VIENNA

AND THE EMBOFF REPLIED ALONG THE LINES OF THE GUIDANCE CONTAINED IN PARA 3 OF REFTTEL. BOURLOYANNIS LISTENED WITH INTEREST, BUT REMARKED THAT HE THOUGHT THE USG'S INTERPRETATION WAS PERHAPS TOO OPTIMISTIC. FURTHERMORE, HE NOTED, THERE WERE MANY WHO WERE TRYING TO PLACE THE BLAME EQUALLY ON BOTH SIDES FOR THE FAILURE AT VIENNA. HE SAID HE DISAGREED THAT THE FAULT FOR THE LACK OF PROGRESS HAD BEEN A FIFTY-FIFTY PROPOSITION. THE GREEK CYPRIOTS HAD GONE TO VIENNA WITH A DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH, BUT HAD BEEN UNABLE TO DO SO BECAUSE OF THE TOTAL UNRESPONSIVENESS BY THE OTHER SIDE. FURTHERMORE, THE GREEKS HAD PRESENTED A MAP WHICH IN ITSELF WAS A DIFFICULT POLITICAL DECISION FOR MAKARIOS AND WHICH EVERYONE KNEW WAS SIMPLY AN OPENING POSITION. THE TURKS, ON THE OTHER HAND HAD PRESENTED A CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSAL THAT WAS LAUGHABLE AND A REVERSAL OF PROPOSALS MADE EARLIER. BOURLOYANNIS ALSO DISAGREED THAT THE GREEKS HAD LEAKED THEIR CASE TO THE PRESS, POINTING OUT THE MAP HAD APPEARED IN THE TURKISH MEDIA FIRST, TWO DAYS BEFORE NICOSIA RELEASED IT.

3. AS TO THE MAY MEETING IN NICOSIA, BOURLOYANNIS WAS NOT HOPEFUL THAT ANYTHING CONCRETE WOULD RESULT, AN OPINION WHICH, HE ADDED, WAS SHARED BY DE CUELLAR. NEVERTHELESS, HE AGREED THE NICOSIA SESSION WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CONTINUE THE "NEOGIATING PROCESS." BOURLOYANNIS WAS UNHAPPY NEVERTHELESS WITH WHAT HE HAD HEARD WAS THE US DESIRE FOR THE NICOSIA ROUND TO FOCUS ONLY ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE. TO DO SO, HE SAID, WOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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BE PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THE TURKS WHO HAD OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED SEVERAL DAYS AGO THAT THERE COULD BE NOT PROGRESS ON THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION UNTIL THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE WAS SETTLED, THUS REVERSING THE CONCEPT OF A "PACKAGE AGREEMENT". LOOKING BEYOND NICOSIA, HE CONTINUED, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO HAVE ANOTHER VIENNA ROUND MUCH BEFORE JULY, IF THAT EARLY, SINCE THE TURKISH ELECTIONS AND THE SETTLING IN PERIOD THEREAFTER BY THE NEW GOT WOULD MAKE FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO HOLD A NEW ROUND.

4. IN RESPONSE TO THE EMBOFF'S STRESS ON THE NEED FOR THE INTERESTED PARTIES (THE U.S., GREECE AND TURKEY) TO CONTINUE TO PRESS BOTH CYPRIOT SIDES TO ENGAGE IN A GENUINE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, BOURLOYANNIS ASKED WHAT SPECIFICALLY THE USG WOULD HAVE THE GOG DO FURTHER. HE DEFENDED THE GOG POSITION OF "FULL SUPPORT FOR MAKARIOS, BUT NO GOG INITIATIVES" BY UNDERLING THE DIFFERENCES WHICH EXIST BETWEEN THE SITUATION AT PRESENT AND THAT IN 1960. THE GOG NOW CAN ONLY ASSIST AND OFFER SUGGESTIONS TO THE GREEK

CYPRIOIS, BUT NO LONGER CAN IT PLAY THE LEADING ROLE, HE INSISTED. CYPRUS IS AN INDEPENDENT AND SOVERIGN COUNTRY, HE ARGUED, AND FOR THE GOG TO INTERVENE WOULD MAKE A MOCKERY OF CYPRIOT INDEPENDENCE. ALSO, THE GOG REFUSED TO LINK CYPRUS TO THE AEGEAN DISPUTE WITH TURKEY, SAID BOURLOYANNIS; THERE WAS SIMPLY NO QUESTION OF MAKING TRADE-OFFS IN CYPRUS IN ORDER TO SETTLE THE AEGEAN DISPUTE, OR VICE VERSA, SINCE TO DO SO WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO UNDERMINING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE CYPRIOT REPUBLIC.

5. WITH RESPECT TO THE STATUS OF MAKARIOS' HEALTH, BOURLOYANNIS SAID THAT WHILE THE ARCHBISHOP IS GRADUALLY IMPROVING THE FUTURE IS STILL CLOUDY. GREEK AMBASSADOR DOUNTAS HAD SEEN MAKARIOS YESTERDAY (APRIL 14) FOR JUST A FEW MINUTES AND HAD REPORTED THAT THE ARCHBISHOP DID NOT APPEAR STRONG AT ALL. MAKARIOS WAS MAKING ONLY A FEW DECISIONS, AND, AS A CONSEQUENCE, THE MACHINERY OF

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GOVERNMENT WOULD POSSIBLY SOON GRIND TO A HALT. IT WAS EVEN MORE DISTRESSING, BOURLOYANNIS STATED, THAT IF MAKARIOS SHOULD FALTER, THERE SIMPLY WAS NO ONE ELSE WHO COULD CONVINCE THE GREEK CYPRIOT PEOPLE TO ACCEPT A SETTLEMENT.

6. FINALLY, BOURLOYANNIS SAID HE HAD NOT PARTICIPATED IN THE TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS (SEPTEL) NOR HAD HE YET TALKED WITH AMBASSADOR JOHN TZOUNIS WHO HAD LED THE GREEK SIDE IN THOSE DISCUSSIONS. NEVERTHELESS, HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT THE SOVIETS HAD SIMPLY RESTATED THEIR STANDARD POSITION ON CYPRUS OF CALLING FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UN RESOLUTIONS AND INSISTING ON THE SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE AND NON-ALIGNMENT OF CYPRUS. HOWEVER, CONCLUDED BOURLOYANNIS, THE USSR HAS NEVER COME OUT AND CONDEMNED TURKEY FOR THE 1974 INVASION OF CYPRUS. KUBISCH

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